

Message Text

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TAGS: OREP (FLOWERS, WALTER)

SUBJECT: CODEL FLOWERS - MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER ALLON

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. FOREIGN MINISTER YIGAL ALLON MET WITH CODEL AND AMBASSADOR TOON ON NOV 12, 1976. HE REITERATED ISRAEL'S WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE AND ITS ADHERENCE TO UNSC RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338. ALLON EXPRESSED ISRAEL'S CONCERN THAT EGYPT HAD RAISED THE QUESTION OF THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES IN THE UN AND THAT A CONSENSUS HAD BEEN ATTAINED ON THE ISSUE. END SUMMARY.

2. THE FOREIGN MINISTER BEGAN BY WELCOMING THE CODEL AND INVITING THEIR COMMENTS, QUESTIONS, AND CRITICISMS. CHAIRMAN FLOWERS RESPONDED BY THANKING THE MINISTER FOR HIS HOSPITALITY, DRAWING HIS ATTENTION TO THE CODEL'S RECENT MEETING WITH PRESIDENT SADAT. MR. HUTCHINSON ECHOED MR. FLOWERS' REMARKS.

3. MR. RAILSBACK NOTED SADAT'S SINCERE ATTITUDE AND ASKED ABOUT THE STATUS OF THE GENEVA PEACE CONFERENCE. HIS JOB AS FOREIGN MINISTER, ALLON SAID, WAS TO SEARCH FOR ANY RAY OF HOPE FOR PEACE, AND TO BE AWARE OF EVERY OPPORTUNITY FOR PEACE. HE APPEALED TO THE CONGRESSMEN AS FELLOW PARLIAMENTARIANS NOT TO GET EXCITED WITH LOFTY PRONOUNCEMENTS, BUT RATHER ALWAYS TO PUT THEM TO THE TEST. HE SAID THAT ISRAEL HOPES THAT SADAT, OF ALL ARAB LEADERS, WILL PROVIDE THE MEANS FOR PURSUING PEACE. BUT THE EGYPTIAN DESIRE FOR PEACE INCLUDED CONDITIONS PRIOR TO NEGOTIATIONS, AND ALLON BELIEVED A PEACE TREATY WAS POSSIBLE ONLY THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS.

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4. MR. ASHBROOK ASKED IF ISRAEL'S EXCLUSION OF THE PLO FROM NEGOTIATIONS WAS NOT A PRECONDITION. IT WAS NOT, ALLON REPLIED. THROUGH U.S. MEDIATION, ISRAEL HAD NEGOTIATED THREE PARTIAL AGREEMENTS WITH THE ARABS. FOLLOWING THE SINAI II AGREEMENT,

ISRAEL HAD OFFERED A PARALLEL DEAL TO SYRIA WHICH HAD REJECTED IT. RECENTLY ISRAEL HAD OFFERED EGYPT AN AGREEMENT BASED ON THE CESSATION OF WAR AND THERE HAS BEEN NO REPLY, WHICH IS BETTER THAN A NEGATIVE REPLY, ALLON ADDED. ISRAEL WAS WILLING TO RECONVENE THE GENEVA PEACE CONFERENCE, WITH ITS ORIGINAL COMPOSITION, BASED ON RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338, AND ISRAEL STOOD READY TO NEGOTIATE ALL THE PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH PEACE. AFTER SEEING SADAT'S INTERVIEW WITH BARBARA WALTERS IN WHICH HE SAID THAT WE WERE ONE YEAR BEHIND SCHEDULE, ALLON HAD SAID WE WERE 28 YEARS BEHIND SCHEDULED. IT WAS IMPORTANT TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN PALESTINIANS AND THE PLO; ISRAEL WOULD NOT SIGN AN AGREEMENT WITHOUT TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE PALESTINIANS. THE REASON THERE WAS NO SETTLEMENT, ALLON EXPLAINED, WAS THAT THE ARAB COUNTRIES, INCLUDING EGYPT, PLAYED WITH THE PALESTINAINS LIKE PAWNS. HOW MANY PALESTINIANS WERE KILLED BY EGYPTIANS, SYRIANS, AND OTHER ARABS IN LEBANON, HE ASKED RHETORICALLY. ISRAEL HAD KILLED FEWER PALESTINIANS; THERE IS NO CAPITAL PUNISHMENT IN ISRAEL, NOT EVEN FOR TERRORISTS. THE PLO WAS AN UMBRELLA ORGANIZATION OF TERRORISTS AND THE PALESTINIAN COVENANT DENIED ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST. ISRAEL'S POSITION IS "PALESTINIANS YES, PLO NO."

5. MR. ASHBROOK WONDERED IF ISRAEL'S INSISTENCE ON THIS POLICY VIS-A-VIS THE PLO MEANT THAT THERE WAS NO POSSIBILITY FOR NEGOTIATIONS. ALLON REPLIED BY CITING UNSC RESOLUTION 242, WHICH HAD THE FULL AGREEMENT OF ALL THE PARTIES CONCERNED. IT WAS VERY CAREFULLY WORDED AND DID NOT CONTAIN THE WORD PALESTINIAN, ALTHOUGH IT DID MENTION REFUGEES. SIMILARLY, RESOLUTION 338 MAKES NO MENTION OF THE PALESTINIANS OR THE PLO. ALLON EXPLAINED THAT PALESTINIANS COULD PARTICIPATE IN THE GENEVA PEACE CONFERENCE AS MEMBERS OF THE JORDANIAN DELEGATION.

6. MR. BADILLO RAISED THE SAME QUESTION HE HAD RAISED WITH SADAT:HOW CAN CONGRESS HELP? IT COULD HELP BY ENCOURAGING THE PARTIES INVOLVED TO NEGOTIATE HONESTLY ON THE BASIS OF RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338, ALLON REPLIED.

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7. MR. DANIELSON ASKED ABOUT THE SITUATION OF SOVIET DISSIDENTS AND JEWS IN OTHER COUNTRIES. THE GREATEST JEWISH PROBLEM SINCE THE HOLOCAUST WAS THE PRESENT SITUATION OF SOVIET JEWS, ALTHOUGH IT WAS OF A DIFFERENT ORDER OF MAGNITUDE,ALLON ADDED. HE DID NOT THINK THAT EITHER ISRAEL OR HUMANITY COULD AFFORD TO LOSE ANOTHER JEWISH TRIBE. IT WAS IN SOME WAYS A GRAVER PROBLEM THAN PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST BECAUSE THE SOVIETS THOUGHT THEY COULD GET AWAY WITH IT. THE SITUATION OF SYRIAN JEWS WAS EVEN WORSE. ISRAEL HAD RAISED THE ISSUE WITH THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UN, THE SECRETARY OF STATE, AND THE PRESIDENT OF THE U.S.,BUT COULD NOT GET ONE SINGLE JEW OUT OF SYRIA. ROMANIA DOES ALLOW A CERTAIN NUMBER OF JEWS TO LEAVE, AND WHILE ALLON WOULD NOT SAY THAT ISRAEL WAS COMPLETELY SATISFIED, THE

PROBLEM DOES EBB AND FLOW. DANIELSON ASKED IF U.S. PRESSURE WAS BENEFICIAL TO SOVIET JEWS; ALLON REPLIED THAT ALTHOUGH IT MIGHT BE BAD IN THE SHORT RUN, IT WAS GOOD IN THE LONG RUN

8. MR. FISH RAISED THE ISSUE OF THE INCREASING NUMBER OF SOVIET JEWS NOT COMING TO ISRAEL AND THE PROBLEMS FACED BY SOVIET JEWS WHO SPEND A YEAR IN ISRAEL AND THEN DECIDE TO GO TO THE U.S. ALLON PREFACED HIS REMARKS BY ASKING NOT TO BE QUOTED. BUT UNLESS THE SITUATION CHANGES, HE BELIEVES THE SOVIETS PREFER TO GIVE VISAS TO PEOPLE GOING TO ISRAEL BECAUSE IT ALLOWS THE SOVIETS TO EXPLAIN OFFICIALLY THEIR DEPARTURE AS "REPATRIATION TO THEIR ANCIENTHOMELAND." ALLON WAS CONCERNED THAT RUSSIA MIGHT DECIDE THAT THE REQUESTS TO DEPART FOR ISRAEL WERE FALSE, WHICH WOULD UNDERMINE THE WHOLE SYSTEM. ALLON SAID THAT HIS FIRST PREFERENCE WAS THAT JEWS BE ALLOWED TO LEAVE RUSSIA; HE WOULD SWALLOW HIS ZIONIST CONVICTIONS AND NOT INSIST THAT THEY COME TO ISRAEL. MR FISH ASKED IF THE USG DID NOT INTERFERE, AND ALLON REPLIED NEGATIVELY, SAYING THAT A PLURALISTIC SOCIETY WAS THE BEST PLACE FOR ABSORPTION, ALTHOUGH HE HAD MET SOME RUSSIANS IN NEW YORK WHO HAD DECIDED TO RETURN TO ISRAEL.

9. MR HUGHES SAID THAT HE HAD BEEN IMPRESSED WITH ISRAEL'S SENSE OF PURPOSE AND DESIRE FOR PEACE AND THE DESPERATE POVERTY IN EGYPT, BOTH OF WHICH MADE HIM FEEL THAT THE TIME IS RIGHT FOR PEACE INITIATIVES. WHOSE MOVE WAS IT, HE ASKED. ALLON DESCRIBED A RECENT ANALYSIS OF THE EGYPTIAN ECONOMIC SITUATION WHICH DESCRIBED THE CALCUTTAZATION OF CAIRO. ALLON WAS SURE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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THAT SADAT WAS SINCERE IN WANTING TO IMPROVE THE ECONOMY BUT THERE WERE MANY PROBLEMS TO OVERCOME. IN LIGHT OF THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS FACING BOTH EGYPT AND ISRAEL, ALLON SOMETIMES WONDERED WHY SO MUCH HAD TO BE SPENT FOR ARMS. MOREOVER, THE LAST YEAR HAD SHOWED THE ARABS THAT THEIR BORDERS WITH ISRAEL WERE THE SAFEST THEY HAD. THEY KNEW THEY COULD TRUST ISRAEL, AND ALLON SAID THAT SOMEDAY THIS MIGHT HELP. AS FOR INITIATIVES, THE GOI AND THE USG ALWAYS COORDINATE THEIR INITIATIVES. SOMETIMES IT IS NOT DESIRABLE IF A GOOD IDEA IS PRESENTED BY ISRAEL. ISRAEL PREFERS TO MAINTAIN A LOW PROFILE AND LET THE U.S. ENUNCIATE NEW IDEAS. ALLON WANTED TO BE OPTIMISTIC AND THOUGHT THAT PERHAPS AFTER THE GREAT TRAGEDY OF LEBANON THERE MIGHT BE NEW OPPORTUNITIES, PROVIDED THAT NO ONE TRIED TO RUSH THINGS, PARTICULARLY CONCERNING THE PLO. ISRAEL WAS VERY CONCERNED THAT EGYPT HAD RAISED THE WEST BANK SITUATION IN THE UN. THE RECENT UNSC CONSENSUS MAY ENCOURAGE THE RADICALS. ONE OR TWO MORE STEPS LIKE THIS AND THERE WOULD BE NO HOPE FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, ALLON SAID.

10 MR. FLOWERS ASKED IF ISRAEL DID NOT BELIEVE IT HAD TO PUSH FOR A SETTLEMENT WHILE SADAT WAS IN POWER. ALLON QUOTED

THE HEBREW PROVERB "DON'T PRAY FOR THE DEATH OF A KING BECAUSE YOU DO NOT KNOW WHO WILL REPLACE HIM." ALLON HOPED SADAT WOULD STAY IN POWER. ISRAEL HAD SIGNED TWO AGREEMENTS WITH HIM AND WAS READY FOR A THIRD, BUT SADAT SAID NO. ISRAEL WAS READY TO GIVE UP TERRITORY FOR A POLITICAL QUID PRO QUO. HOWEVER, ISRAEL PREFERRED U.S. MEDIATION TO THE GENEVA PEACE CONFERENCE. ISRAEL'S PREFERENCES WERE: FIRST, DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS; SECOND, U.S. MEDIATION; THIRD, GENEVA PEACE CONFERENCE. DOMESTICALLY, ALLON WAS READY TO GO TO ELECTIONS ON THE PLATFORM OF "NOW IS THE TIME FOR PEACE." HE REVIEWED ISRAEL'S WITHDRAWAL AFTER THE SINAI WAR 20 YEARS AGO. AFTER THIS EXPERIENCE, ISRAEL WOULD NEVER ACCEPT ANOTHER IMPOSED SETTLEMENT. MOREOVER, ALLON DID NOT LIKE THE PHRASE "EVENHANDEDNESS" BECAUSE ONE SIDE WAS READY FOR PEACE AND ONE SIDE WAS NOT.

11. MR. HYDE ASKED WHAT A SATISFACTORY GUARANTEE WOULD BE FOR ISRAEL IN ORDER TO GIVE UP TERRITORY. ALLON REVIEWED THE PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH A GUARANTEE SUCH AS ACCEPTING AN ALLY'S INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENT AND THEN ACTING ON IT TO SEND LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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TROOPS. THERE WAS NO RELIABLE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM TO GUARANTEE A COUNTRY'S INTEGRITY. HE ASKED RHETORICALLY WHY ISRAEL SHOULD PIN ITS FUTURE ON ANOTHER COUNTRY'S GOOD WILL. ISRAEL WAS ONLY ASKING FOR CERTAIN GEOGRAPHIC CHANGES TO GIVE IT DEFENSIBLE BORDERS. UNLIKE ANY OTHER NATION, ISRAEL COULD NOT AFFORD A MAJOR MILITARY DEFEAT. MR. HYDE ASKED IF MODERN MISSILES DID NOT CHANGE ISRAEL'S CONCEPT OF DEFENSIBLE BORDERS. ALLON REPLIED THAT WHILE NO ONE WOULD WIN A NUCLEAR WAR, CONVENTIONAL WARFARE HAD NOT CHANGED. AS LONG AS BOTH SIDES WERE READY, THE FIGHT WOULD GO ON DESPITE BOMBING AND SHELLING. AS LONG AS ONE SIDE RESISTED, THE OTHER SIDE'S GROUND FORCES HAD TO CRUSH IT. HE RECALLED THAT THE NAZIS CONQUERED EUROPE BECAUSE THEY COULD USE THEIR GROUND FORCES THERE BUT COULD NOT BRING BRITAIN TO ITS KNEES WITH BOMBING AND MISSILES. SIMILARLY, THE ALLIES BOMBED GERMANY EVEN MORE, BUT BOMBING DID NOT DECIDE THE ISSUE, ALTHOUGH IT DID HELP THE GROUND FORCES. IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, BECAUSE OF LIMITATIONS OF U.S. GROUND FORCES, MISSILES AND BOMBING WERE NOT DECISIVE. TERRAIN WAS EVEN MORE IMPORTANT IN MODERN WARFARE THAN PREVIOUSLY, ALLON CONCLUDED.

12. THE MEETING CLOSED WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTER EXPRESSING THE APPRECIATION OF THE PEOPLE AND THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL TO THE U.S. FOR ITS ASSISTANCE AND THE CODEL THANKING THE MINISTER FOR HIS HOSPITALITY.
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